

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 259223

EXDIS TOSEC 353

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO ANKARA ATHENS NICOSIA  
NATO BRUSSELS USUN NEW YORK FROM LONDON NOV 22

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 15343

EXDIS

E.O.11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, EAIR, CY, UK

SUBJECT: CALLAGHAN TALK WITH MAKARIOS AND CLERIDES

NOVEMBER 22: PART I: SETTLEMENT PROSPECTS

SUMMARY: MAKARIOS AND CLERIDES DID NOT BREAK NEW GROUND.  
WHILE CLERIDES APPEARED TO AGREE WITH CALLAGHAN THAT IT  
WOULD BE UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT TURKS TO ACCEPT ANYTHING  
LESS THAN A BIREGIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOLUTION, MAKARIOS WAS  
NOT CONVINCED. HE INDICATED HOPE THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER  
MIGHT STILL BE ABLE TO PERSUADE THE TURKS. HOWEVER, HE  
GRUDGINGLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE COULD ACCEPT CANTONAL  
SOLUTION AS "LESS WORSE." MAKARIOS AND CLERIDES WILL  
EACH GO TO ATHENS FOR TALKS NOVEMBER 30 AND MAKARIOS SAID  
HE WOULD RETURN TO CYPRUS DECEMBER 5 OR 6. CLERIDES  
LATER INTIMATED SOMETHING ABOUT TAKING "A REST" AFTER  
ATHENS. BRITISH BELIEVE THIS MEANS MAKARIOS AND CLERIDES  
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ARE NOT AGREED ON NEGOTIATING STRATEGY. STATEMENT IS-SUED BY MAKARIOS TO PRESS (WHICH CLERIDES DRAFTED) RULED OUT ANY SOLUTION WHICH COMPULSORILY PREVENTED FREE RETURN OF DISPLACED PERSONS TO THEIR HOMES. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING PRELIMINARY ACCOUNT OF MEETING AFTERNOON NOVEMBER 22 WAS PROVIDED BY ACTING DEPARTMENT HEAD WESTON WHO, WITH DEPUTY UNDERSECRETARY KILLICK AND A NOTETAKER, ALSO ATTENDED. CHRISTOPHIDES AND LONDON HICOMER ASHIOTIS WERE PRESENT ON CYPRIOT SIDE.

2. MOST OF DISCUSSION CENTERED ON FORM OF SETTLEMENT. MAKARIOS (WHO DID MOST OF THE TALKING) INSISTED HE WOULD NOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES ACCEPT TURKISH FAIT ACCOMPLI. CALLAGHAN ASKED HIM IF HE WOULD ACCEPT CANTONAL SOLUTION. MAKARIOS NODDED IN AFFIRMATIVE SAYING IT WAS "LESS WORSE."

3. MAKARIOS SAID HE UNDERSTOOD UK AND US BOTH FAVORED BIREGIONAL SOLUTION. HE HAD HAD SEVERAL MEETINGS WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER AND HAD STRESSED TO HIM THAT BIREGIONAL SOLUTION WAS OT ACCEPTABLE. IN LAST MEETING KISSINGER HAD SAID HE TOO WOULD PREFER CANTONAL SOLUTION BUT IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC TO BELIEVE TURKS WOULD ACCEPT LESS THAN BIREGIONAL. MAKARIOS SAID HE HAD NOTED PRESS REPORTS THAT KISSINGER WILL BE GOING TO ANKARA SOON AND HE WAS CONFIDENT KISSINGER COULD PERSUADE THE TURKS.

4. CALLAGHAN SAID IT IS REALISTIC TO THINK OF GETING TURKS TO MODIFY THEIR POSITION SOMEWHAT, BUT UNREALISTIC TO THINK THEY WILL CHANGE IT. CALLAGHAN ADDED THAT HE HIMSELF WOULD PREFER A UNITARY STATE OF CYPRUS WITH 1960 CONSTITUTION, BUT THAT TOO IS UNREALISTIC. (ACCORDING TO WESTON CLERIDES WAS REPEATEDLY NODDING HIS OWN AGREEMENT WITH CALLAGHAN'S REMARKS ON REALISM, INDICATING TO BRITISH THAT HIS POSITION WAS STILL DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF MAKARIOS.)

5. CALLAGHAN DID NOT RESPOND WHEN AT ONE POINT MAKARIOS SAID HE WOULD HAVE LIKED UK TO SUPPORT MULTICANTONAL SOLUTION.

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6. CLERIDES TALKED AS IF THE ANSWER MIGHT BE FOR GREEK CYPRIOTS TO PUT FORWARD THEIR OWN PROPOSALS ON THE SHAPE OF A FEDERATION, WESTON TOLD US. HOWEVER HE AND MAKARIOS WERE CONCERNED WITH THE ABSENCE OF A GOVERNMENT IN ANKARA AND WITH DENKTASH'S INADEQUATE NEGOTIATING AUTHORITY.

7. MAKARIOS INDICATED HE IS GOING TO ATHENS ON NOVEMBER 30 FOR TALKS THERE AND WILL RETURN TO CYPRUS TO ASSUME PRESIDENCY DECEMBER 5 OR 6. (HE HAS STILL NOT ASKED BRITISH TO ASSIST HIS RETURN. IF HE DOES, BRITISH PLAN TO SUGGEST HE RETURN BY GREEK SHIP TO LIMASSOL AND, AS FALLBACK, SUGGEST OLYMPIC AIRWAYS FLIGHT TO AKROTIRI--AN IDEA FLOATED IN ONE OF THE NEWSPAPER REPORTS OF CLERIDES' PRESS CONFERENCE NOVEMBER 21.)

8. AFTER THE MEETING, CLERIDES TOLD WESTON THAT HE WAS FLYING BACK TO CYPRUS TOMORROW, NOVEMBER 22. HE WOULD GO TO ATHENS NOVEMBER 30 FOR THE TALKS AND WOULD RETURN TO CYPRUS TWO OR THREE DAYS LATER "FOR A REST." (COMMENT: THIS LAST REMARK, PLUS CLERIDES' BEHAVIOR DURING MEETING, SUGGESTS TO BRITISH THAT CLERIDES HAS NOT OBTAINED MAKARIOS' AGREEMENT ON NEGOTIATING TACTICS AND MAY AGAIN BE THREATENING TO RETIRE FROM HIS NEGOTIATING ROLE.)

9. STATEMENT ISSUED BY MAKARIOS TO PRESS AT CONCLUSION OF MEETING (WHICH CLERIDES TOLD BRITISH HE HAD DRAFTED) RULED OUT ANY SOLUTION WHICH COMPULSORILY PREVENTED FREE RETURN OF ALL DISPLACED PEOPLE TO THEIR HOMES.

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